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PANCASILA AS THE SOLE BASIS FOR ALL POLITICAL PARTIES AND FOR ALL MASS ORGANIZATIONS; AN ACCOUNT OF MUSLIMS' RESPONSES

**Faisal Ismail**

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DOES TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC MALAY LITERATURE CONTAIN SHI'ITIC ELEMENT?  
'ALÎ AND FÂTIMAH IN MALAY *HİKAYAT* LITERATURE

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*MASLAHAH* AND ITS APPLICATION  
IN INDONESIAN *FATWĀ*

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## Does Traditional Islamic Malay Literature Contain Shi'itic Elements? 'Alî and Fâtimah in Malay *Hikayat* Literature

**Abstraksi:** Banyak ahli tentang sastra Melayu klasik berpendapat bahwa pengaruh Persia diketahui cukup besar terhadap sastra Melayu tradisional. Hal ini terlihat dari sejumlah teks-teks sastra Melayu yang sangat populer, seperti *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah* dan *Kitab Seribu Masalah* yang diketahui merupakan semacam adaptasi atau bahkan terjemahan langsung dari teks-teks Persia.

Persoalan pokok yang ingin diangkat tulisan ini adalah; apakah terdapatnya pengaruh Persia dalam sastra Melayu klasik itu sekaligus merupakan indikasi dari pengaruh Syi'ah terhadap Islam Sunni yang berkembang sejak semula di Nusantara?

Persoalan hubungan antara pengaruh sastra Persia dalam sastra Melayu tradisional dengan tersebarnya pengaruh Syi'ah di Indonesia sebenarnya telah pernah dibahas beberapa ahli, termasuk di antaranya adalah Baroroh Baried dari Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta. Tetapi, menurut Wieringa, tulisan Baried yang berjudul "Shi'ah Elements in Malay Literature" (Unsur-unsur Syi'ah dalam Sastra Melayu) masih belum mampu secara meyakinkan membuktikan adanya korelasi yang kuat di antara kedua hal di atas. Ini terutama sebab Baried sendiri mendasarkan tulisannya pada katalog-katalog manuskrip lama, yang bersifat umum. Dan, karena itu, tidak cukup memadai untuk mengasumsikan pengaruh Syi'ah di bagian tertentu Kepulauan Nusantara dalam periode tertentu pula.

Artikel ini mencoba mengkaji ulang tentang pengaruh Syi'ah di

Nusantara dengan mempertimbangkan unsur-unsur atau pengaruh sastra Persia dalam sastra Melayu klasik. Untuk kepentingan itu, penulis memusatkan pembahasan pada kosmologi yang terdapat dalam Hikayat Nur Muhammad; dan melihat pula peranan yang dimainkan 'Ali dan Fatimah dalam literatur hikayat Melayu. Penulis kemudian membahas praktek-praktek keagamaan yang biasa dilakukan kaum Muslim Syi'ah, seperti peringatan hari Asyura, yang juga umum dipraktekkan berbagai kelompok masyarakat Muslim Sunni di Nusantara.

Kosmologi sastra Melayu yang dibahas penulis di sini adalah yang terdapat dalam Hikayat Nur Muhammad, sebuah teks yang diklaim sebagai diterjemahkan dari bahasa Persia. Dalam hikayat ini diceritakan tentang bagaimana Nur Muhammad yang diciptakan Allah dalam bentuk yang sudah dimanusiawikan, persisnya dalam bentuk burung yang membuat dunia tercipta tatkala tetesan air menetes dari tubuhnya. Cerita tentang "burung" inilah diadaptasi dalam sastra Melayu sebagai "burung pingai", yang merupakan citra dari "ruh Tuhan". Dalam konteks ini, penulis kemudian membahas kedudukan "nur" (cahaya) dalam pandangan Syi'ah.

Salah satu argumen yang paling menarik dari artikel ini adalah tentang apa yang disebut penulis sebagai "de-Syi'ahisasi" literatur hikayat di dunia Melayu. Menurut penulis, seluruh literatur hikayat di Nusantara—yang sebagiannya dipengaruhi sastra Persia itu—agaknyanya dihasilkan pada masa-masa awal Islamisasi. Kenapa demikian? Karena cerita-cerita yang terdapat dalam hikayat-hikayat tersebut sangat menarik bagi orang-orang Melayu yang baru masuk Islam. Popularitas sastra Melayu yang dipengaruhi sastra Persia ini semakin meningkat ketika Islam melakukan penetrasi lebih luas di Nusantara; melalui bahasa Melayu, sastra yang dipengaruhi unsur-unsur Persia tersebut menyebar dalam literatur Nusantara lainnya yang menggunakan bahasa Aceh, Minangkabau, Jawa, Sasak, Sunda, Makasar, Bugis dan lain-lain.

Tetapi dalam perkembangan lebih lanjut, ketika hikayat-hikayat tersebut diabadikan dalam bentuk naskah, khususnya sejak abad 19, maka terjadilah "de-Syi'ahisasi" sastra Melayu tersebut. Hasilnya, tidak banyak lagi "pengaruh Syi'ah" dalam literatur sastra Melayu secara keseluruhan. Misalnya saja, 'Ali bisa tetap saja disanjung, namun 'Umar yang sebelumnya dikutuk, kini tidak lagi digambarkan begitu negatif. Bahkan kutukan terhadap 'Umar dibuang dari sastra Melayu. Dengan demikian terjadi "netralisasi" unsur-unsur Syi'ah, sehingga kaum Muslim Sunni di Nusantara pada umumnya tidak lagi mempunyai keberatan terhadap pengaruh Persia tersebut.

## هل الآداب الإسلامية الملايوية التقليدية تشمل العناصر الشيعية؟، على وفاطمة في كتاب القصص الملايوية

**الخلاصة:** كثير من المتخصصين في الأدب الملايوي القديم يرون أن النفوذ الفارسي له نفوذ كبير على الأدب الملايوي التقليدي. هذا الموضوع يبرز من خلال عدد من تسجيلات الأدب الملايوي الكثيرة الشهرة مثل حكاية بختيار، وحكاية أمير حمزة، وحكاية محمد حنفيه وكتاب ألف مسألة التي علم أنها متبينة أو مترجمة مباشرة من الكتب الفارسية.

المسألة الأساسية التي تريد أن تبرزها هذه الكتابة هل يوجد النفوذ الفارسي في هذا الأدب الملايوي القديم ذلك، وفي نفس الوقت ذلك يشير إلى تأثير الشيعة على الإسلام السنن الذي انتشر من البداية في هذا الأرخييل؟.

إن مشكلة العلاقة بين نفوذ الأدب الفارسي على الأدب الملايوي التقليدي مع انتشار النفوذ الشيعي في إندونيسيا في الواقع قد تناولها بالبحث عنه بعض المتخصصين منهم الأستاذ باروروه باريد من جامعة غاجه مادا (Gajah Mada)، بجكيا كرتا، ولكن بناء على ويرينجا (Wieringa)، إن كتابة باريد تحت عنوان *Shi'ah Elements in Malay Literature* لن يستطيع بعد بإيقان الاستدلال بوجود

الاتصال الوثيق بين الأمرين المذكورين. هذا أولاً، لأن باريد نفسه يؤسس كتابته على كتالوج (katalog) الكتب الخطية القديمة التي لها صبغة العمومية، ولذلك لا يكفي الاستدلال به عن نفوذ الشيعة في جهة معينة من الأرخييل وفي مدة معينة بالذات.

هذا المقال إنما يحاول مراجعة الدراسة عن النفوذ الشيعي في هذا الأرخييل مع تقييم عناصر أو نفوذ الأدب الفارسي في الأدب الملايوي القديم. لتلك الأهمية، فالكاتب يركز بحثه عن الطبيعة العالمية الموجودة في حكاية نور محمد والنظر كذلك في النفوذ الذي يلعبه علي وفاطمة في كتاب حكاية ملايو. والكاتب أخيراً يبحث عن العمليات الدينية التي اعتاد أن يقوم بها المسلمون الشيعيون مثل ذكرى العاشراء التي يقوم بها مختلف المجتمعات الإسلامية السننية في الأرخييل.

الطبيعة الأدبية الملايوية التي يبحثها الكاتب هنا هي الموجودة في حكاية نور محمد، النسخة التي اتهمت بأنها مترجمة من اللغة الفارسية. في هذه القصة تحكى عن كيفية نور محمد الذي خلقه الله على شكل ما صار إنسانياً وعلى وجه التحقيق في صورة طائر خلق العالم حينما تساقطت قطرات من الماء من جسمه. والقصة عن هذا الطائر هي التي بانة في القصة الملايوية كعصفور خلق من الروح الإلهية. في هذه الصياغة، يبحث الكاتب أخيراً مكانة النور في تصوير الشيعة.

إحدى الحجج الأكثر تنبهاً في هذا المقال هو عن الشيء الذي ذكره الكاتب كتشيع كتاب الحكاية في العالم الملايوي. بناء على رأى الكاتب أن كل كتب الحكايات في الأرخييل - التي بعضها قد تأثرت بالأدب الفارسي - فيما يظن قد أصدرت في عهود أوائل الإسلام. ولماذا كذلك؟، لأن تلك القصص التي وجدت في الحكايات المذكورة لها جاذبية خاصة لدى الأمة الملايوية التي دخلت الإسلام حديثاً. إن شهرة الأدب الملايوي المتأثر بالأدب الفارسي قد ازداد في

حين الإسلام يقوم بتوسيع نفوذه في اتحاد الأرخييل عن طريق اللغة الملايوية التي أديها تأثر بالأدب الفارسي قد انتشرت في كتب أنحاء الأرخييل الأخرى التي تستعمل لغة آتشييه، مينجكابو وجاوة وساساك وصوندا ومكاسر وبوجيس وغيرها.

ولكن في التوسعة الأكثر مجالا، في حين تلك الحكايات قد خلدت على أشكال نسخ خصوصا منذ القرن التاسع عشر، فحصل التشيع في الأدب الملايوي نفسه. النتيجة، قلّ نفوذ الشيعة في كتب الأدب الملايوي على وجه العموم، مثلا إن عليا يمكن يوجد باستمرار، ولكن عمر الذي من قبل يلعن، أصبح الآن لم يصور سلبيا كثيرا، ولكن اللعنة نحو عمر قد حذفت من الأدب الملايوي.

وبذلك، حدث الحياد في العناصر الشيعية حتى الأمة الإسلامية السنية على وجه العموم لا تملك ذلك التحمل نحو التأثير الفارسي ذلك.

Persian influence is known to have had a large impact upon traditional Malay literature. Many popular Malay texts, such as the *Hikayat Bakhtiar*, *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, and *Kitab Seribu Masalah* to name only a few, are known to be adaptations or direct translations of Persian texts.<sup>1</sup> By common consent it is believed that this Persian influence did have an Indian origin. One assumes that (southern) India was the possible source of early Indonesian Islam.<sup>2</sup>

One of the earliest works of Malay literature, and according to Brakel possibly the oldest Malay *hikayat*, is the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*. Its translation from Persian into Malay may, as Brakel argues, well have taken place not much later than the (middle of the) fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The story tells about Hasan and Husayn and the drama of Karbela, and in addition describes, purely legendary, how Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyyah takes vengeance for his two half-brothers, defeats Yazid and helps Zayn al-‘Âbidîn to the throne. The part about Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyyah is truly a *hikayat*, but the first part may be styled a *maqta’l* (*maktel*), a technical term for (a text on) the slaying of Husayn at Karbela. It is known that Malay *hikayat* were meant to be recited and perhaps the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* was once connected with the Ashura rituals. The *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* was not only received into Malay literature at an early period, but it has remained popular a long time since. In the second half of the nineteenth century it was even one of the best-sellers of the indigenous press.<sup>4</sup> This raises questions about the development of Indonesian Islam because the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* is a Shi‘itic text of the more extreme kind, whereas Indonesia Islam is Sunnite.

Can we perhaps find more traces of Shi‘ism in traditional Malay literature besides the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*? To examine this question I propose to look at the roles of ‘Alî and Fâtimah in Malay *hikayat* literature, about whom quite a few stories exist.<sup>5</sup> Research into this matter, however, is severely hampered by the dearth of reliable text editions. The necessary philological *Vorarbeiten* are still lacking which means that one has to turn to the ‘raw’, untreated materials in the form of manuscripts and lithographed editions. The most recent publication on ‘Shi‘ah elements in Malay literature’, I know of, written by Baroroh Baried, is based upon synopses in older manuscript catalogues and therefore could only be of a general nature.<sup>6</sup> The rather bold conclusion, however, which was drawn by



another scholars, basing himself upon Baroroh Baried's article, that "the scattered evidence, mostly in works of partly entertaining and partly moralizing character, was not enough to assume any major Shi'i influence or period in any part of the Malaysian archipelago" needs to be modified, as I hope to make clear in the following pages.<sup>7</sup>

First I will discuss the cosmology *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* and then I will look at the roles played by 'Alî and Fâtimah in *hikayat* literature, i.e. (1) 'Alî and Fâtimah as a poor pious couple; (2) Fâtimah as the ideal woman; (3) 'Alî as the master of religious knowledge (as opposed to the stupidity of 'Umar), and (4) 'Alî as the victorious warrior. Thereafter I will examine the stories about 'Alî and Fâtimah against the wider background of a 'de-Shi'itization' of Indonesian Islam. For the sake of completeness it should be noted that there is of course more to Malay literature than *hikayat*. The reason why I have limited my research to *hikayat*, is because other texts in which 'Alî and Fâtimah appear, seem to be of a more obscure nature, dealing with magic and eroticism/mysticism.<sup>8</sup>

### Cosmogony: the *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*

The *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* ('Story of the Mystic Light of Muhammad'), a text claimed to be translated from Persian,<sup>9</sup> tells how the Mystic Light of Muhammad, created by Allâh in the anthropomorphized form of a glorious bird, brings the whole world into existence from drops of water which fall from its body. It seems that the idea of the Islamic glorious bird could easily be adapted with older Malay concepts about the 'pure bird' (*burung pingai*), which was an image of the (divine) spirit.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, we find a very similar liquid theory in Bengali Islamic syncretistic literature where it is likewise told that *Nur Muhammad* shook his body, at the instance of Allâh, to produce 124,000 drops oozing out of it, which gave birth to 124,000 prophets. In the same manner other drops, trickling out of the different parts of *Nur Muhammad*'s body, resulted in the creation of various objects and spirits.<sup>11</sup>

The Malay story exists as an independent *hikayat*, but it is also included as a preamble in some versions of *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*, the *Hikayat Syahi Merdan*, and the *Tambo Minangkabau*. The oldest manuscript known of the *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* (in Lampung script i.e. from Southern Sumatra) was donated to the Bodleian Library (Oxford) in 1630<sup>12</sup> the story runs briefly as follows: from the Mystic Light Allâh made a glorious bird which had

for its head 'Alî, for its eyes Hasan and Husayn, for its neck Fâtimah for its arms Abu Bakr and 'Umar, for its tail 'Uthmân, for its breast Hamzah, for its back 'Abbâs, and for its legs 'Aishah and Khadîjah.<sup>13</sup> Then Allâh gave seven seas to the Mystic Light of Muhammad, the sea of knowledge, the sea of kindness, the sea of patience, the sea of intelligence, the sea of thought, the sea of mercy, and the sea of light. The Mystic Light had to swim in each of those seas for 10,000 years. When the glorious bird came out of the seas, Allâh ordered it to shake its body and from the 124,000 drops of water that fell from it, 124,000 prophets were created. In the same manner other drops brought into existence the Apostles, the Archangels, the Pen and the Preserved Tablet, the Throne and the heavens, the sun and the moon, winds, water and fire, the tree of life and the *tuba* tree, the seal of Sulayman and the rod of Mûsâ. Then the four elements who were taught their right place by the Light. The dispositions of men are those of the four elements.

Shi'ah is the Muslim sect that has made the utmost use of light. According to Shi'ah, the *ahl al-bayt* belong to an eternal line of chosen persons on whom Allâh bestowed His light.<sup>14</sup> In the *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* the most important parts of the glorious bird are all represented by the *ahl al-bayt*: 'Alî is its head, Hasan and Husayn its eyes and Fâtimah its neck. Typically, in the oldest manuscript 'Alî is called commander of the faithful, a honorary title which is given to him by his Shi'ite followers.<sup>15</sup> According to Shi'ah doctrine this title was bestowed on him by Allâh before the creation of Adam.<sup>16</sup>

In a version which was summarized by Winstedt we find for the neck of the glorious bird Fâtimah the Syrian instead of Fâtimah, the daughter of the Prophet.<sup>17</sup> This is an interesting slip of the pen, because Fâtimah the Syrian plays a role in another story about Muhammad's primordial substance as light. The mistake can, I think, be traced back to Brakel's version of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, which opens with the legendary history of the Prophet Muhammad till the beginning of his mission. This version was used by Winstedt for his summary of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*.<sup>18</sup> After the opening story about the creation of the Prophetic Light, version has the story of Fâtimah the Syrian. She was a rich Syrian woman who was well versed in the *Tawrat*, and hence knew that the birth of the Final Prophet was imminent. She wanted to become the mother of the Prophet and therefore she searched his prospective father who would be recognizable by the light on his forehead. She

found a man in Mecca, called 'Abd Allâh, who answered the description, and offered herself in marriage to him. 'Abd Allâh, however, slept with Amînah, after which he lost his former radiance. When he returned to Fâtimah, she rejected him as he was no longer interesting to her, and went back to Syria.

According to Brakel the story of Fâtimah the Syrian seems to be based on a tradition contained in the *Sîrah* of Ibn Ishâq where the woman in question is anonymous.<sup>19</sup> Brakel furthermore suggests that the name Fâtimah may point to Shi'ite influence, but this is in my opinion too far-fetched. There are quite a few Arabic stories about a woman who wanted 'Abd Allâh's light and the name Fâtimah the Syrian may be based on traditions which state that she was Fâtimah bint Murr.<sup>20</sup> The story is also known in Javanese where the woman is called Patimah Sami ('Fâtimah the Syrian') and where 'Abd Allâh is presented as the son of the King of Medina. Both in Malay and in Javanese the story of Fâtimah the Syrian is an episode in a *Hikayat Nabi*, a body of legends dealing with the Prophet.<sup>21</sup>

### The Poverty of 'Alî and Fâtimah

Many hadîth speak of the poverty of the household of 'Alî and Fâtimah. Modern historians limit its duration to the first years of their marriage, but in legends the poverty of 'Alî and Fâtimah is pictured as an enduring situation which is intimately connected with their piety and detachment from worldly goods. In the *Hikayat Ali Kawin dengan Fatimah* ('Story of the marriage of 'Alî and Fâtimah'), already immediately after the marriage ceremony 'Alî cannot give his wife anything to eat. When he has earned some money, he gives it away to beggars. In the end, however, he is miraculously rewarded by Allâh.

In the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim*, a story about the famous Sûfi Ibrâhîm ibn Adham, an exemplary story is included about patience: once upon a time the Prophet went to Fâtimah's house, taking a friend with him. Fâtimah at first did not want to open the door, because she had nothing to put on save one garment. The Prophet then gave his shawl to Fâtimah, who put it on. The Prophet and his friend thereupon entered Fâtimah's house, but it was bare, and Fâtimah sat there in silence, with bowed head. The Prophet spoke: "O my daughter, bear patiently this situation with its suffering. In Heaven you will attain to greatness and riches, because this world is the market for the hereafter."<sup>22</sup>

In the *Hikayat Nabi dan Orang Miskin* ('The story of the Prophet and a poor man') Fâtimah is once upon a time visited by a begging mendicant. When she thinks about what to give to the poor man, she suddenly hears the word of Allâh who orders her to give the best garment she has to the beggar. So she does and the beggar goes to the market to sell the beautiful garment. When 'Umar sees this, he thinks that the beggar has stolen the garment from Fâtimah and he takes it by force and gives it to the Prophet. The beggar goes to the Prophet and complains about 'Umar's unjust behavior. The Prophet then sells the garment to a woman named Lady Ma'wa for a thousand *ringgit* and gives the money to the mendicant. Lady Ma'wa orders a slave girl to go to Fâtimah's house to give her garment back together with three other clothes, each worth about a thousand *ringgit*. If Fâtimah would accept this gift, the slave girl would be free. At first Fâtimah does not want to open her door, because she normally only opens the door to her husband. She finally opens the door when she hears from the slave girl that this has to be done in order to set her free. When Fâtimah sees the gift of Ma'wa, she is upset because she thinks that Allâh has refused her alms to the mendicant. She cries bitterly and her grief reaches the seven strata of the heavens and the Throne of Allâh and all creatures weep hearing Fâtimah cry to Allâh. Then Allâh sends Gabriel to the Prophet to order him to say to Fâtimah that Allâh has accepted her alms. So he does and Fâtimah stops crying, accepts Ma'wa's gift and the slave girl is free.<sup>23</sup>

In Spat's lithographed Malay anthology we find a short story entitled 'The generosity of the commander of the faithful 'Uthmân' (*kemurahan hati amirulmu'minin Uthman*).<sup>24</sup> One day 'Uthmân ibn 'Affân saw that a man in the market tried to sell a chainmail. Upon questioning him 'Uthmân was informed that 'Alî was the owner of the chainmail and that someone had already offered 71 *dirham* for it. Thereupon the chainmail was put up for auction and 'Uthmân finally could buy it for 400 *dirham*. 'Uthmân ordered the merchant to bring the money and the chainmail to Fâtimah's house without letting it known to anyone. This was done and when Fâtimah came out of her house she saw 'Alî's chainmail and some pitchers filled with *dirham*. She told this to 'Alî who went to the Prophet to inform him about this. At that moment Jibrîl, the angel of revelation, also came to the Prophet and informed him that this was a deed of 'Uthmân. The Prophet was pleased and when 'Uthmân paid his respects to the Prophet, he was asked about his deed. 'Uthmân answered that 'Alî

had sold his chainmail only because he suffered hardship and therefore 'Uthmân had bought it. 'Uthmân's purpose was that 'Alî should use the chainmail in the war and use the money to buy something useful. The Prophet told him that Allâh would reward 'Uthmân in this world and in the hereafter. When 'Uthmân had returned to his house he saw his own pitchers as well as ten other pitchers, each filled with 400 *dirham*. On the coins was written: 'This is a gift from the Lord, the Compassionate, for 'Uthmân ibn Affân'.

Although a dating of the story about 'Alî's harness is unknown, it probably belongs to the early Malay *hikayat*. A variant version of this story is known in Javanese where it is used as a brief interlude in the *Serat Yusup*, a verse biography of the prophet Joseph. It is given the title *Sinom Kere* ('the Sinom of the harness').<sup>25</sup> This story is cited in the *Serat Yusup* because of its equivalence to the miraculous return of the king of Egypt's riches after he had exhausted them to buy Joseph.<sup>26</sup> Despite this, in my view, rather contrived argument for its inclusion (or better perhaps: just because of this implausible argument), I am inclined to think that in the story of Joseph this small interlude of no more than a few verses must be a later insertion.<sup>27</sup> If it is an interpolation, it has at least a respectable age. We already encounter it in a manuscript from Cirebon which was copied, or possibly even composed, in the Javanese year Jumadilawal 1555, i.e. late in 1633 A.D.<sup>28</sup> The precise origins and development of the *Serat Yusup*, however, remain to be investigated. Pigeaud proposes that it may be based on a Malay model, rewritten with reference to Arabic texts.<sup>29</sup>

### Fâtimah, the Ideal Woman

Fâtimah epitomizes the ideal woman. As we saw, she does not care for the material benefits of life. The *Hikayat Ali Kawin dengan Fatimah* ('Story of the marriage of 'Alî and Fâtimah') describes her as exceedingly beautiful. Kings asked for her hand, but Gabriel descended from heaven to announce that her union with 'Alî was decided by divine decree and that Allâh was to be Fâtimah's *walî*. She is a faithful wife: in the *Hikayat Fatimah Berkata-kata dengan Pedang Ali* ('Story of Fâtimah talking with 'Alî's sabre') it is told that when she was once suspected of having committed adultery, it turned out that she had spoken to 'Alî's sabre Dhulfakar, asking him how many infidels 'Alî had slain. The Prophet teaches her in this *hikayat* as well as in the *Hikayat Nabi Mengajar Anaknya Fatimah* ('Story of the Prophet teaches his daughter Fâtimah') about the duties of a wife towards her husband.

The name Fâtimah itself, whose root involves ideas of cutting and separation, is commonly explained as meaning that Allâh has separated her and her party from Hell. Descriptions of Fâtimah's role as intercessor on the Day of Judgment amplify this explanation.<sup>30</sup> In the story about her wedding with 'Alî we read that Fâtimah had requested as her wedding gift the sins of women on the Day of Resurrection. This was granted to her by Allâh with the following command: "My beloved makes the intercession for womankind" (*Bahwa kekasihku itu memberi syafaat akan segala perempuan*). Fâtimah will be the first person to enter Paradise after the Resurrection. In the *Hikayat Darma Tasiyah* ('Story of Darma Tasiyah') and the *Hikayat Sairah dan Hadri* ('Story of Sairah and Hadri') we read about pious women who had been faithful to their husbands and therefore by Fâtimah's blessing entered heaven.<sup>31</sup>

### The Wisdom of 'Alî and the Stupidity of 'Umar

The Prophet once said: 'I am the city of knowledge, but 'Alî is its gate'. In legends 'Alî is described as the most knowledgeable of the Companions of Muhammad, as regards both theological questions and matters of positive law. We find a reflection of the idea that the Prophet transmitted spiritual knowledge to 'Alî in the *Hikayat Nabi mengajar Ali* ('Story of the Prophet teaches 'Alî') where the Prophet explains the four stages of the mystical path (*syariat, tarekat, hakikat* and *makrifat*) to 'Alî. 'Alî's wisdom as opposed to the stupidity of 'Umar is stressed in three stories, i.e. the story of Tamîm al-Dârî, the story of the ten Jewish rabbis, and the story of Fadlun.

Orthodox tradition reveres in Umar the just ruler, who according to one legend, which is known in Malay as *Hikayat Abu Samah*, even had his own sinful son scourged to death in spite of the prayers of the faithful and the tears of the celestial nymphs. In the *Hikayat Nabi dan Orang Miskin* we already saw an example of 'Umar's misbehavior, but in the three afore-mentioned stories about the stupidity of 'Umar, we find an even stronger reflection of the Shi'itic antipathy to 'Umar who was the first to thwart the claims of 'Alî. As is well-known the name of 'Umar is never pronounced by a true Shi'ite without a curse and in Shi'itic theatre his role is portrayed in the darkest colours.<sup>32</sup>

In the story of Tamîm al-Dârî, it is related that a Companion of the Prophet, called Tamîm al-Dârî, was caught by an infidel *jinn*, after which he had many adventures. Meanwhile, years after his disappearance, Tamîm's wife was divorced from her husband by 'Umar,

and joined in marriage with another husband. Before the consummation of the marriage, Tamîm was brought back by good spirits, but his wife did not recognize him anymore. The case was brought to 'Umar who could not settle it. 'Alî, however, knew what had happened, and Tamîm al-Dârî was reunited with his wife and children.<sup>33</sup>

In the story of the ten rabbis, *khalîf* 'Umar ibn al-Khattâb was once upon a time visited by ten rabbis from Khaybar who asked him all kinds of theological questions, and 'Umar ordered to call 'Alî to answer them. After the first set of questions had been answered, four of the Jews embraced Islam, and when 'Alî had answered all questions about vicious men and women who were changed into animals, the other six also converted themselves to Islam. Then each of them put another question to 'Alî, but after all problems had been solved by him, they repeated the *shahâdah* and confessed that his was the only just way.<sup>34</sup>

In the story of Fadlun the pious Fadlun is falsely accused by a wicked widow, whose advances he spurns, of theft and murder. The *khalîf* 'Umar considers himself obliged to sentence Fadlun to death, but in answer to Fadlun's prayer, 'Alî comes in the twinkling of an eyelid and reveals Fadlun's innocence by causing the widow's unborn baby to speak as a witness.<sup>35</sup>

#### 'Alî as the Victorious Warrior

'Alî's role as victorious warrior is expressed in Shi'ah tradition by his heroic titles *Haydar*, 'the lion', *Haidar-i karrar*, 'the impetuous lion', *Asad Allâh al-Ghalib*, 'the lion of Allâh, the Victorious', or *Shir-i Yazdan*, 'the Lion of Allâh'. In Malay his common epithet, especially of course in works with a Shi'ah coloring, is *Harimau Allâh*, 'the tiger of Allâh'. The word *harimau*, 'tiger', here renders the Persian and Arabic words for 'lion', an animal which is not indigenous in Southeast Asia.<sup>36</sup>

In various stories it is told how 'Alî defeats infidel kings and their armies. It is impossible to give a complete enumeration. Matthes, for example, mentions a Macassarese story about an infidel king who worshipped a holy tree and who was defeated by 'Alî, after which he embraced Islam. As Islamic Macassarese literature is generally based on Malay, one would expect a Malay original for this story, but I do not know of its existence in Malay literature.<sup>37</sup> The following examples may suffice: in the *Hikayat Raja Khandak*, 'the story of King Khandak', a very legendary romance of the War of the Ditch, the

infidel King Khandak (from Arabic *khandaq*, the 'moat' which the Prophet had dug around Medina to defend himself against the attack of the men of Mecca) and his son Badar (originally a place name!) suffer defeat and death through Ali's hand. In the *Hikayat Amîr al-Mu'minîn 'Umar* ('Story of the commander of the faithful 'Umar'), which has been preserved in one unique Leiden manuscript (Cod.Or. 3345 (1)), 'Alî defeats the Persians and personally kills their leader Rostam Pulad. In the *Hikayat Tatkala Rasul Allah Memberi Sedekah Kepada Seorang derwis* ('the story of how the Prophet of Allâh gave alms to a dervish') the enormous poverty of Muhammad and his Companions is the reason for 'Alî to fight infidels and to confiscate their riches.<sup>38</sup>

### A 'de-Shi'itization' of Malay Hikayat Literature

Traces of Shi'ism can still be found in Indonesian Islam. A well-known example is that the month *Muharram* is called *Sura* (derived from Ashura) in Javanese, Sundanese and Macassarese, and *Asan-Usen* in Acehnese. On the 10th of Muharram, Ashura day, we find in such disparate regions as Aceh, Java and South Sulawesi the consumption of Ashura porridge, known as *kanji Asyura* in Aceh, as *bubur Sura* in Sundanese, or as *jepe' sura* in Macassarese. As there already exists a fairly extensive literature on the Shi'ah in Indonesia, I will not repeat what is already known.<sup>39</sup> It is however worthy of remark that Shi'itic traces in Indonesian Islam are generally not recognized as such by the common (Sunni) believer. Furthermore, we can now only speak of Shi'itic traces: in the course of time, and especially since the nineteenth century, contacts with the Arabian world increased when Indonesians more and more went to Arabia for study and Hadrami sayyid became increasingly prominent in Indonesian religious life. Typical Indonesian elements, but also elements of Perso-Indian origin were gradually purged.

The *hikayat*, which were mentioned so far, probably were all produced at an early age of Islamization. The evidence for their relative old age is circumstantial: firstly, these stories were especially attractive for neophytes.<sup>40</sup> Secondly, as Islam penetrated into the other languages and literatures of the archipelago through the intermediary of Malay, many, if not all, of the afore-mentioned stories are also found in other Indonesian literatures, such as Acehnese, Minangkabau, Javanese, Sasak, Sundanese, Macassarese, Buginese, etc.<sup>41</sup> Because these literary products are anonymous and cannot be dated, it is impossible



to establish the year or even the period when they were written.

As the majority of the Malay manuscripts date from the nineteenth century it is only natural to find only remnants of Shi'itic influences in the *hikayat* which have survived. The textual witnesses cannot be characterized as distinctly Shi'itic. Yet it is remarkable to find so much attention for 'Alî and Fâtimah in *hikayat* literature. What is more, their roles in *hikayat* are wholly congruous with popular Shi'itic imagery. Especially in the stories about 'Alî as the wise judge, 'Alî can be praised at 'Umar's expense. 'Umar, however, is not portrayed too negatively and the normal Shi'itic cursing of 'Umar's name is entirely left out.

Several scholars have pointed at a gradual process of 'de-shi'itization' of different texts, such as the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, the *Hikayat Banjar* or the *Tajussalatin*.<sup>42</sup> Undoubtedly the stories about 'Alî and Fâtimah over the years must also have undergone this process. In this connection it is interesting to observe that Malay literature contains some variants of the 'anti-'Umar' stories which may perhaps be interpreted as Sunnî transformations. A variant of the story of Fadlun can for example be found in the *Raudah al-'ulamâ'*, but there 'Umar acquits the youth (who is here called Ismâ'îl instead of Fadlun), and 'Alî does not intervene.<sup>43</sup> A variant of the story of the ten rabbis, which according to Van Ronkel is "in many ways inferior to the other one", is the *Hikayat Abu Bakr dan rahib Yahudi*, also known as *Hikayat Sulaiman al-Farsi*.<sup>44</sup> Here several Jewish rabbis come from Syria to *khalif* Abu Bakr instead to *khalif* 'Umar, and promise to embrace Islam, if their (theological) questions can be answered satisfactorily.<sup>45</sup> These versions, however, never reached the popularity of their Shi'itic counterparts. This is different with a story which echoes the *Hikayat Nabi Mengajar Anaknya Fatimah*, namely the so-called *Hikayat Partana Islam*, in which the Prophet, at the request of a woman named Islam, Salâm or Salâmah, sets forth all that a woman has to do or refrain from in respect to her husband and the recompense that awaits her in the hereafter for the practice of wifely virtues.<sup>46</sup>

Summing up then, the prominent place of 'Alî and Fâtimah in Malay *hikayat* literature is to be explained by the early introduction of these stories as popular reading matter for neophytes when Indonesian Islam still had a Shi'ah tinge. In the course of time the popular stories, in which 'Alî and his family played a prevalent part, were gradually neutralized to such an extent that no Sunnî believer could object to them.

## Endnotes

1. G.E. Marrison, 'Persian influences in Malay life (1280-1650)', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28 (1955), pp. 52-0. L.F. Brakel, 'Persian influence on Malay literature', *Abr-Nahrain* 9 (1970), pp. 1-16.
2. G.W.J. Drewes, 'New light on the coming of Islam to Indonesia?', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 124 (1968), pp. 433-459 is a survey of the early history of Indonesian Islam.
3. Lode Brakel, 'On the origins of the Malay hikayat', *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs* 13 (1979), pp. 1-33.
4. I. Proudfoot, *Early Malay printed books. A provisional account of materials published in the Singapore-Malaysia area up to 1920, noting holdings in major public collections* (Kuala Lumpur, 1993), pp. 29-30.
5. I will not discuss stories like *Hikayat Hasan Husain Tatkala Kanak-kanak* ('Story of the childhood of Hasan and Husayn'), *Hikayat Hasan dan Husain Akan Mati* ('Story of the imminent death of Hasan and Husayn') or *Carita Tabut* ('Tale of the coffin'), because they are probably 19th century texts and are not represented in other Indonesian literatures (see for these stories Jumsari Yusuf et al. (eds.), *Sastra Indonesia Lama Pengaruh Islam* (Jakarta, 1984), p. 109 ff.
6. Baroroh Baried, 'Shi'ah elements in Malay literature', Sartono Kartodirdjo (ed.), *Profiles of Malay Culture: Historiography, Religion and Politics* (Jakarta, 1976), pp. 59-65.
7. K.A. Steenbrink, 'Indian teachers and their Indonesian pupils: on intellectual relations between India and Indonesia, 1600-1800', *Itinerario* 12, 1 (1988), p. 131.
8. Fatimah is e.g. mentioned in a crocodile charm and in a charm for sowing disension between husband and wife (Walter William Skeat, *Malay magic: An Introduction to the Folklore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1965), pp. 298-299; 573-574) and Ali in a charm to acquire velour and in an aspect-compass known as *Rajal al-ghayb* or Jinazah Sayidinâ 'Alî ibn Abû Tâlib (Skeat, *Malay magic*, pp. 653 and 561). I do not know if the use of a certain flower, the *kembang Patimah*, or rose of Jericho (*anastatica Hierochontica*), for the advancement of the opening of the birth passages, has anything to do with Fâtimah (Arie Andries Haspels, *Uterine rupture in Central Java* (Goes, 1961; Ph.D. thesis University of Amsterdam), p. 21. For eroticism/mysticism, see G.W.J. Drewes and L.F. Brakel, *The poems of Hamzah Fansuri* (Dordrecht, Cinnaminson, 1986), pp. 18-20; see also Theodore G.Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*. Volume 111 (The Hague, 1970), p. 341.
9. Edwar Djamaris, 'Penelitian naskah "Hikayat Nur Muhammad" dalam sastra Indonesia lama', *Bahasa dan Sastra* 6 (1980), p. 15.
10. Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud und P. Voorhoeve, *Handschriften aus Indonesien* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 47 ff.; V.I. Braginsky, *The System of Classical Malay Literature* (Leiden, 1993), p. 66-67.
11. Asim Roy, *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 129.
12. This MS, Jav. e. 2, is described in M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*. A catalogue of manuscripts in Indonesian languages in British public collections (Oxford, 1977), p. 105a. Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 12.582 is a complete photocopy. I used the transliteration by P. Voorhoeve, Cod.Or. 84217 (119).

13. Beginning of MS Jav. e. 2; the same description of the glorious bird can be found in National Library Jakarta MI.378C, a 19th century MS, which was edited in Djamaris, 'Penelitian naskah', pp. 20-24.
14. U. Rubin, 'Pre-existence and light. Aspects of the concept of Nur Muhammad', *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), p. 65.
15. Heinz Halm, *Der schiitische Islam. Von der Religion zur Revolution*. (Munchen, 1994), p. 19.
16. E. Kohlberg, 'Ali b. Abi Taleb', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Volume I (London, Boston and Henley, n.d.), p. 843.
17. It is unclear which MS or lithography was used by Winstedt. He gives the impression that he has used National Library Jakarta v.d.W. 76 A, containing a story written in 1668, but which, according to L.F. Brakel, *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* (The Hague, 1975), p. 49 lacks the motif of the mystic bird.
18. L.F. Brakel, *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah* (The Hague, 1977), p. 78.
19. Brakel, *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, p. 48. Cf. A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*. A translation of Ishâq's *Sîrah Rasûl Allâh* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 68-69.
20. See Rubin, 'Pre-existence', pp. 83-86.
21. Brakel, *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, p. 48 wrongly assumes that in Javanese this episode constitutes an independent *hikayat*. I hope to return to the story of Patimah Sami in a later publication in which I will discuss a 17th century MS of this text which is now in the library of the Royal Dutch Military Academy in Breda (KMA 6S44).
22. Russell Jones, *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim: The Short Version of the Malay Text* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1983), pp. 18-21 (Malay text and English translation).
23. National Library Jakarta MI. 42h, pp. 113-118; transliterated in Jumsari Yusuf et al., *Sastra Indonesia*, pp. 71-73.
24. C. Spat, *Bunga Rampai; Maleisch leesboek* (Breda, 1920), pp. 62-63 (in Malay script). Unfortunately I could not trace the MS which Spat used for his edition.
25. According to the Javanese version 'Alî ordered a servant to sell his harness because he needed money for his wedding, see Bernard Arps, *Tembang in Two Traditions: Performance and Interpretation of Javanese Literature* (London, 1992) 167-168. *Sinom* is the name of a verse form. See also Titiek Pudjiastuti, 'Serat Yusup. Peranannya dalam kehidupan masyarakat Jawa', *Lembaran Sastra Universitas Indonesia* 16, April 1992, p. 58 where 'Uthmân does not buy 'Alî's harness, but frees a slave. This is not another version, but is based upon a misunderstanding on the part of the interpreter of the word *kere* ('harness') which is confused with *kere* ('beggar')! The same mistake is made in the Indonesian translation of the *Kitab Yusuf* (alih bahasa: Hardjana HP; alih aksara: Titiek Pudjiastuti), Jakarta, 1981, p. 86.
26. Arps, *Tembang*, p. 258.
27. It is possible, I think, to show that *Sinom Kere* is an interpolation by means of the formula A1 X - A2, in which X stands for the interpolated passage, while A1 and A2 stand for the original environment in which X has been inserted. If X is an interpolated passage, A1 - A2 would form a homogeneous whole without X. In ideal cases evidence for interpolation can be provided on three levels, namely the levels of metrical, narrative and linguistic structure (see E.M. Uhlenbeck, 'The problem of interpolation in the Old Javanese Ramayana kakawin', *Bijdragen*

- tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 145 (1989), pp. 328-330). This is the case with *Sinom Kere* in *Kitab Yusuf* on at least the metrical and narrative level: (1) the metrical structure of A1 (canto 8) is the same as A2 (canto 10), i.e. *pangkeur*, whereas X (canto 9) is in *sinom*; (2) the narrative structure of A1 and A2 taken together does not display a structural gap. I have not studied linguistic evidence for the interpolation.
28. *Kitab Yusuf*, alih bahasa: Hardjana HP; alih aksara: Titiék Pudjiastuti (Jakarta, 1981), p. 534. The date of this MS is discussed in B. Arps, 'Yusup, Sri Tanjung, and fragrant water. The adoption of a popular Islamic poem in Banyuwangi, East Java', V.J.H. Houben, H.M.J. Maier and W. van der Molen (eds.), *Looking in odd mirrors: the Java Sea* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 121-122.
  29. Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*. Volume I (The Hague, 1967), p. 217.
  30. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, 'Chosen of all women: Mary and Fatima in Qur'anic exegesis', *Islamochristiana* 7 (19231), p. 27.
  31. About the *Hikayat Darma Tasiyah* I wrote a brief article, 'In praise of a virtuous woman: the story of Darma Tasiyah', *International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter* 6 (1995), p. 36. The *Hikayat Sairah dan Hadri* was described by Willem van der Molen, 'Six Malay manuscripts in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 140 (1984), p. 330.
  32. G.W.J. Drewes, 'Het godsdienstig toneel in Iran', *Forum der Letteren* 10 (1970), p. 41; Johan ter Haar, *Volgelingen van de imam. Een kennismaking met de sjii'itische Islam* (Amsterdam, 1995), p. 103.
  33. See P. Voorhoeve in *Catalogue of Indonesian Manuscripts*. Part 2 (Copenhagen, 1977), pp. 13 iff. for a discussion of the different versions and the relevant secondary literature. Wahyunah Hj. Abd. Gani, *Hikayat Tamim al-Dari* (Kuala Lumpur, 1989) is a transliteration of the longer version.
  34. Ph. S. van Ronkel, 'Malay tales about conversion of Jews and Christians to Muhammedanism', *Acta Orientalia* 10 (1932), pp. 61-62. Van Ronkel bases his summary on Cod.Or. 3234 (University Library Leiden), but the story can also be found in Cod.Or. 1751, pp. 518-538. For an Arabic version (National Library Jakarta, KBG 655), see Ph.S. van Ronkel, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts Preserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences* (Batavia, 1913), pp. 325-326 and P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Collections in the Netherlands* (The Hague, 1980), pp. 199-200.
  35. Nowadays the story is apparently only known in *syair* form in Malay, see B.A. Hussainmiya, 'Pertumbuhan dan kejatuhan kesusasteraan Melayu di Sri Lanka', Siti Hawa Haji Saleh (ed), *Cendekia: Kesusasteraan Melayu Tradisional* (Kuala Lumpur, 1987), p. 74. Perhaps in former days the story was passed on as a *hikayat*, because in Acehnese literature (which has borrowed on a large scale from Malay literature) it is extant as *Hikayat Padenlon*, which according to P. Voorhoeve, 'Three old Acehnese manuscripts', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952), p. 336 must be quite old because of its strong Shiite bias. It is also known in Sundanese as a prose story, but, as far as I know, only in one MS, i.e. National Library Jakarta Snd. 145, of which Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 8369 is a transliteration. Cf. P. Voorhoeve, *Catalogue of Acehnese Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other Collections Outside Aceh* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 166-167.

36. Cf. C. Skinner, *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* (The rhymed chronicle of the Macassar War) by Entji' Amin ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 223; Russell Jones, 'Harimau', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 126 (1970), pp. 260-262.
37. B.F. Matthes, *Kort verslag aangaande alle mij in Europa bekende Makassaarse en Boeginesche handschriften, vooral die van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Spin, 1875), p. 8.
38. R. Roolvink, 'Indonesia: vi - Literatures', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition. Volume IX (Leiden and London, 1971), p. 1232 was misled by the title as he suggests that this story contains "an appeal for generosity towards the poor"; cf. H.H. Juynboll, *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek* (Leiden, 1899), p. 182.
39. Baroroh Baried, 'Le shi'isme en Indonesie', *Archipel* 15 (1978), pp. 65-84 gives a useful overview; see also Gilbert Hamonic, 'La fete du grand Maulid a Cikoang, regard sur une tarekat dite "shlite" en pays Makassar', *Archipel* 29 (1985), pp. 175-191.
40. Cf. Annemarie Schimmel, *Die Zeichen Gottes. Die religiöse Welt des Islam* (München, 1995), p. 167.
41. An overview of the various catalogues can be found in Roolvink, 'Indonesia', p. 1235.
42. Brakel, *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, p. 59 ff.; J.J. Ras, *Hikajat Bandjar: A study in Malay Historiography* (The Hague, 1968), pp. 129; 148 and Winstedt as quoted in A.C. Milner, 'Islam and the Muslim state', M.B. Hooker (ed.), *Islam in South-East Asia* (Leiden, 1983), p. 48.
43. Voorhoeve, *Catalogue of Acehnese Manuscripts*, p. 167.
44. Van Ronkel, 'Malay tales', p. 61.
45. Van Ronkel, 'Malay tales', pp. 61-62. Van Ronkel bases his summary on Cod.Or. 1758, pp. 1837 (University Library Leiden). Other MSS with this tale are K1. 67d (i.e. the last part, not identified by Ph.S. van Ronkel, *Supplement-Catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche handschriften in de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek* (Leiden, 1921), p. 19) and SOAS 7124 (S), described in M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain; a Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections* (Oxford, 1977), p. 155. See also P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, pp. 199-200 s.v. *Masa 'il al-Yahfid li 'I-Imam 'Ali* for Arabic versions of these two tales.
46. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Katalog der malaiischen Handschriften der Königlichen Hofbibliothek in Berlin* (Leiden, 1950), pp. 190-192; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese*, Volume II (Leiden, 1906), p. 175; Juynboll, *Catalogus*, p. 190.

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